

## **17.950: Territorial Conflict**

Fall 2004  
Wednesdays, 3-5pm  
E56-249  
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### **Course Description**

This graduate seminar introduces an emerging research program within International Relations on territorial conflict. While scholars have recognized that territory has been one of the most frequent issues over which states go to war, territorial conflicts have only recently become the subject of systematic study. This course will examine why territorial conflicts arise in the first place, why some of these conflicts escalate to high levels of violence and why other territorial disputes reach settlement, thereby reducing the likelihood of war. Readings in the course draw upon political geography and history as well as qualitative and quantitative approaches to political science. Undergraduates may enroll with the instructor's permission.

### **Requirements**

The main requirement for this seminar is a research paper on a topic to be agreed upon in consultation with the instructor. Within the broad area of territorial conflict, any theoretical or empirical angle may be explored. The paper should seek to advance the purpose of the course – to improve the theoretical understanding of territorial conflict. The paper, for example, may seek to develop a theoretical explanation for some aspect of territorial conflict, test the validity of a particular hypothesis or examine alternative explanations for a specific case. The paper should be 25-40 pages in length.

As a seminar, the other requirement for this course is to participate in class discussion. The success of any seminar depends on the degree to which members of the seminar prepare readings in advance and actively participate in the discussion. Depending on the size of the course, participants may be asked to serve as discussion leaders.

Grading for the course will be as follows:

Research Paper:	70%
Class Participation:	30%

### **Key dates**

- **October 8<sup>th</sup>: research proposal due**
- **December 10<sup>th</sup>: research paper due**

## Course Materials

The following two books are available for purchase at the bookstore:

- Herbst, Jeffrey. *State and Power in Africa*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2002
- Huth, Paul. *Standing Your Ground: Territorial Disputes and International Conflict*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1996

All other readings are available through the Stellar website, <http://stellar.mit.edu/S/course/17/fa04/17.950/index.html>

**September 8<sup>th</sup>            Introduction**

**September 15<sup>th</sup>        Scope and Definitions**

Paul Hensel. "Territory: Theory and Evidence on Geography and Conflict." In Vasquez, John, ed. *What Do We Know About War?* Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield, 2000, pp. 57-84

John Vasquez and Marie T. Henahan. "Territorial Disputes and the Probability of War 1816-1992." *Journal of Peace Research*. Vol. 38, No. 2 (March 2001), pp. 123-138.

Paul K. Huth. *Standing Your Ground*, Ch. 2

Andrew F. Burghardt. "Bases of Territorial Claims." *Geographical Review*. Vol. 63, No. 2 (April 1973), pp. 225-245

J.R.V. Prescott. *Political Frontiers and Boundaries*. Boston: Allen & Unwin, 1987, pp. 58-135

Thomas L. Bradford. "International Boundaries: Lines in the Sand (and the Sea)." In George J. Demko and William B. Wood, eds., *Reordering the World: Geopolitical Perspectives on the Twenty-First Century*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. Boulder: Westview Press, 1999, pp. 69-93

Masato Kimura and David A. Welch. "Specifying 'interests': Japan's Claim to the Northern Territories and Its Implications for International Relations Theory," *International Studies Quarterly*, Vol. 42 (1998) pp. 213-244. [Focus on 216-232]

September 22<sup>nd</sup>

**Sources I: Territoriality, Nationalism and Homelands**

Hein Goemans. "Territoriality, Territorial Attachment and Conflict." University of Rochester, unpublished manuscript, 2004.

[Monica Duffy Toft. "Indivisible Territory and Ethnic War." Working Paper, Weatherhead Center for International Affairs, Harvard University.](#)

James Anderson. "Nationalist Ideology and Territory." In R. J. Johnston and David B. Knight and Eleonore Kofman, eds. *Nationalism, Self-Determination and Political Geography*. London: Croom Helm, 1988, pp. 18-40

Alexander B. Murphy. "National Claims to Territory in the Modern State System: Geographical Considerations." *Geopolitics*. Vol. 7, No. 2 (2003), pp. 193-214

Steven Grosby. "Territoriality: The transcendental primordial feature of modern societies." *Nations and Nationalism*. Vol. 1, No. 2 (1995), pp. 143-162.

Ernest Gellner. "Nationalism in the Vacuum." In Motyl, Alexander J., ed. *Thinking Theoretically about Soviet Nationalities*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1992, pp. 243-54

September 29<sup>th</sup>

**Sources II: Geography, Resources and the State**

Daniel Dzurek. "What Makes Some Boundary Disputes Important?" *IBRU Boundary and Security Bulletin*, Vol. 7, No. 4, pp. 83-95

Jeffrey Herbst. *States and Power in Africa*, Ch. 1-2.

Peter Liberman. *Does Conquest Pay? The Exploitation of Occupied Industrial Societies*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1998, pp. 3-35.

John P. Vanzo. "Border Configuration and Conflict: Geographical Compactness as a Territorial Ambition of States." In Paul F. Diehl, ed. *A Road Map to War*. Nashville: Vanderbilt University Press, 1999, pp. 73-112

Nicholas J. Spykman. "Geography and Foreign Policy, I." *The American Political Science Review*. Vol. 32, No. 1 (February 1938), pp. 28-50. [esp 28-39]

Nicholas J. Spykman. "Geography and Foreign Policy, II." *The American Political Science Review*. Vol. 32, No. 2 (April 1938), pp. 213-236. [esp 231-236]

Nicholas J. Spykman and Abbie A. Rollins. "Geographic Objectives in Foreign Policy, I." *The American Political Science Review*. Vol. 33, No. 3 (June 1939), pp. 391-410. [focus on 391-403]

Nicholas J. Spykman and Abbie A. Rollins. "Geographic Objectives in Foreign Policy, II." *The American Political Science Review*. Vol. 33, No. 3 (August 1939), pp. 591-614.

Tuomas Forsberg. "Explaining Territorial Disputes: From Power Politics to Normative Reasons," *Journal of Peace Research*, Vol. 33, No. 4 (November 1996), pp. 433-459

**October 6<sup>th</sup>                      Revisionism, Expansion and Territorial Conflict**

Paul K. Huth. *Standing Your Ground*, Ch. 4

Paul K. Huth and Todd L. Allee. "Domestic Political Accountability and the Escalation and Settlement of International Disputes." *Journal of Conflict Resolution*. Vol. 46, No. 6, (December 2002), pp. 754-790, [esp. pp. 768-772]

Jack Snyder. *Myths of Empire: Domestic Politics and International Ambition*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1991, Chapter 2

Donald Horowitz. "Irredentas and Secessions: Adjacent Phenomena, Neglected Connections," in Naomi Chazan, *Irredentism and International Politics*. Boulder, Lynne Reiner, 1991, pp. 9-21

Myron Weiner. "The Macedonian Syndrome: An Historical Model of International Relations and Political Development." *World Politics*. Vol. 23, No. 4. (July 1971), pp. 665-683

Steven van Evera. "Hypotheses on Nationalism and War." *International Security*. Vol. 18, No. 4. (Spring 1994), pp. 5-39

Cases: Africa and Serbia

Ravi L. Kapil. "On the Conflict Potential of Inherited Boundaries in Africa." *World Politics*. Vol. 19, No. 4 (July 1966), pp. 656-673

V. P. Gagnon Jr. "Ethnic Nationalism and International Conflict: The Case of Serbia." *International Security*. Vol. 19, No. 3, (Winter 1994/95). pp. 130-166.

**October 8<sup>th</sup>                      \*\*\*RESEARCH PROPOSAL DUE\*\*\***

**October 13<sup>th</sup>                      Anarchy, Power and Territorial Conflict**

Paul K. Huth, *Standing Your Ground*, Ch. 5

Paul K. Huth and Todd L. Allee. "Domestic Political Accountability and the Escalation and Settlement of International Disputes." *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, Vol. 46, No. 6, (December 2002), pp. 754-790 [esp pp. 780-783]

Barbara Walter. "The Intractability of Territorial Conflict." *International Studies Review*. Vol. 5, No. 4, pp. 137-153

Barry R. Posen. "The Security Dilemma and Ethnic Conflict." *Survival*. Vol. 35, No. 1 (1993), pp. 27-47

James D. Fearon. "Commitment Problems and the Spread of Ethnic Conflict." In David Lake and Donald Rothchild, eds. *The International Spread of Ethnic Conflict: Fear, Diffusion, and Escalation*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1998, pp. 107-126.

Steve Van Evera. *The Causes of War: Power and the Roots of Conflict*. Ithaca, Cornell University Press, pp. 117-151

Paul W. Schroeder. "The 19<sup>th</sup>-Century International System: Changes in the Structure." *World Politics*. Vol. 39, No. 1 (October 1986), pp. 1-26

#### Cases: Badme and the Gulf Islands

J. Abbink. "Briefing: The Eritrean-Ethiopian Border Dispute." *African Affairs*. Vol. 97, No. 389 (October 1998), pp. 551-565

[Richard Mobley. "Deterring Iran, 1968-71: The Royal Navy, Iran and the Disputed Persian Gulf Islands." \*Naval War College Review\*. Vol. LVI, No. 4 \(Autumn 2003\), pp. 107-119](#)

### **October 20<sup>th</sup>                      Diversion, Domestic Mobilization and Territorial Conflict**

Alex Murphy, "Historical Justifications for Territorial Claims." *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*. Vol. 80, No. 4 (Dec 1990), pp. 531-548.

Jack Levy, "Diversionary War Theory: A Critique." In Manus I. Midlarsky, ed., *Handbook of War Studies*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1989, 259-288

Jack Snyder. *From Voting to Violence*. New York: Norton, 1999, Ch 2

Krista E. Wiegand. "Enduring and Escalated Territorial Disputes: Why Settlement is Not Always the Best Strategy," unpublished manuscript, Duke University, 2004

Stephen M. Saideman. "Inconsistent Irredentism? Political Competition, Ethnic Ties, and the Foreign Policies of Somalia and Serbia." *Security Studies*, Vol. 7, No. 3 (Spring 1998), pp. 51-93.

#### Case: The Falklands

Jack S. Levy and Lily I. Vakili, "Diversionary Action by Authoritarian Regimes: Argentina in the Falklands / Malvinas Case." In M. I. Midlarsky, ed. *The Internationalization of Communal Strife*. London: Routledge, 1993, pp. 118-146

Lawrence Freedman and Virginia Gamba-Stonehouse. *Signals of War: the Falklands Conflict of 1982*. London: Faber and Faber, 1990, pp.3-7, 23-36, 39-83

**October 27<sup>th</sup>**

**Boundary Management and Territorial Conflict**

Gerald H. Blake. "The Objectives of Land Boundary Management." *IBRU Boundary and Security Bulletin*. Vol. 6, No. 3, pp. 55-59

Stephen B. Jones. *Boundary-making: A Handbook for Statesmen, Treaty Editors, and Boundary Commissioners*. Washington: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, Division of International Law, 1945, pp 3-56

Stephen B. Jones. "The Description of International Boundaries." *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*. Vol. 33, No. 2 (June 1943), pp. 99-117

S. Whittemore Boggs. *International Boundaries: A Study of Boundary Functions and Problems*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1940, pp. TBD

George Gavrilis. "Policing the Periphery: Security Repertoires and Border Control among Central Asian States, 1991-2003." University of Texas, Austin, unpublished manuscript, 2004

David Newman. "The Functional Presence of an 'Erased' Boundary: The Re-Emergence of the Green Line", in Clive H. Schoefield and Richard N. Schoefield, eds., *The Middle East and North Africa: World Boundaries, Vol. 2*. London: Routledge, pp. 71-98

**November 3<sup>rd</sup>**

**Settlement I: Empirics**

Paul K. Huth, *Standing Your Ground*, Ch. 6

Paul K Huth and Todd L. Allee. "Domestic Political Accountability and the Escalation and Settlement of International Disputes." *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, Vol. 46, No. 6 (2002), pp. 754-790 [esp. pp. 773-780]

Paul R. Hensel. "Contentious Issues and World Politics: The Management of Territorial Claims in the Americas, 1816-1992." *International Studies Quarterly*, Vol. 45, No. 1 (2001), pp. 81-109.

Arie Marcelo Kacowicz. "The Problem of Peaceful Territorial Change." *International Studies Quarterly*. Vol. 38, No. 2 (June 1994), pp. 219-254.

Giacomo Chiozza and Ajin Choi. "Guess Who Did What?: Political Leaders and the Management of Territorial Disputes, 1950-1990." *Journal of Conflict Resolution*. Vol 47, No. 3 (2003), pp. 251-278.

Ron Hassner. "The Path to Indivisibility: Time and the Entrenchment of Territorial Disputes." Unpublished manuscript, Berkeley

Case: Algeria-Morocco

Patricia Wild. "The Organization of African Unity and the Algerian-Moroccan Border Conflict: A Study of New Machinery for Peacekeeping and for the Peaceful Settlement of

Disputes among African States,” *International Organization*, Vol. 20, No. 1 (Winter 1966), pp. 18-36

**November 10<sup>th</sup> Settlement II: Mechanisms**

Jeffrey Herbst. *States and Power in Africa*, Ch.3-4

William I. Zartman. “Ripeness: The Hurting Stalemate and Beyond.” In Paul C. Stern, Daniel Druckman, eds. *International Conflict Resolution: After the Cold War*. National Research Council, 2000, pp. 225-250

Beth A. Simmons. “Capacity, Commitment, and Compliance: International Institutions and Territorial Disputes.” *Journal of Conflict Resolution*. Vol. 46, No. 6, 2003, pp. 829-856.

Taylor Fravel. “Diversionary Peace: Explaining China’s Settlement of Territorial Disputes,” unpublished manuscript, 2004 [skim empirics]

Radha Kumar. “The Troubled History of Partition.” *Foreign Affairs*. (January/ February 1997), pp. 22-34.

Stephen P. Mumme and Carl Grundy-Warr. “Structuration Theory and the Analysis of International Territorial Disputes: Lessons from an Application to the El Chamizal Controversy,” *Political Research Quarterly*, Vol. 51, Issue 4 (December 1998), pp. 969-985.

**November 17<sup>th</sup> The Future of Territorial Conflict**

Richard Rosecrance. “The Rise of the Virtual State: Territory Becomes Passé.” *Foreign Affairs*. (July/August 1996).

Stephen Brooks. “The Globalization of Production and the Changing Benefits of Conquest.” *Journal of Conflict Resolution*. Vol. 43, No. 5 (1999), pp. 646-670.

Tanisha Fazal. “State Death in the International System.” *International Organization*. Vol. 58, No. 2 (April 2004), pp. 311-344

Mark Zacher. “The Territorial Integrity Norm.” *International Organization*. Vol. 55, No. 2 (Spring 2001), pp. 215-50.

**November 24<sup>th</sup> No class [work on papers]**

**December 1<sup>st</sup> Student Presentations**

**December 8<sup>th</sup> Student Presentations**

**December 10<sup>th</sup> \*\*\*RESEARCH PAPER DUE\*\*\***

## REFERENCE WORKS

### Websites

- [International Boundaries Research Unit](#), University of Durham
- [US Department of State, \*International Boundary Studies\*](#)
- [Paul Hensel's Homepage](#)
- [Border Base](#)
- [International Court of Justice](#)

### Books

*World Boundaries and Borderlands*. London: Routledge, 1994

- Volume 1:Global Boundaries
- Volume 2:Middle East and North Africa
- Volume 3:Eurasia
- Volume 4:The Americas
- Volume 5:Maritime Bound

John B. Allcock. *Border And Territorial Disputes*, 3rd ed. Harlow: Longman Group, 1992.

Ewan Anderson. *International Boundaries: Geopolitical Atlas*. Chicago: Fitzroy Dearborn, 2003.

Ewan Anderson. *Global Geopolitical Flashpoint: An Atlas Of Conflict*. Chicago: Fitzroy Dearborn, 2000.

Ewan Anderson. *An Atlas Of World Political Flashpoints: A Sourcebook Of Geopolitical Crisis*. London: Pinter Reference, 1993.

Gideon Biger. *The Encyclopedia Of International Boundaries*. University of Durham: International Boundaries Research Unit, 1995.

Gerald Blake. *Boundaries And Energy: Problems And Prospects*. Boston: Kluwer Law International, 1998.

David Downing. *An Atlas of Territorial and Border Disputes*. London: New English Library, 1980.

Carr Grundy-War, ed. *International Boundaries and Conflict Resolution*. Durham: International Boundaries Research Unit, 1990.

Evan Luard. *The International Regulation Of Frontier Disputes*. London, Thames & Hudson, 1970.



## SUGGESTED READINGS

### Definitions

Norman L. Hill. *Claims to Territory in International Law and Relations*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1945

Malcolm Anderson. *Frontiers: Territory And State Formation In The Modern World*. Malden: Blackwell Publishers, 1996, esp. pp. 12-76

Paul K. Huth and Todd Allee, *The Democratic Peace and Territorial Conflict in the Twentieth Century*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002, appendix A

Paul Hensel, Codebook for Issues Correlates of War ([www.icow.org](http://www.icow.org))

### Quantitative Research on Territory and War

Paul K. Huth and Todd Allee, *The Democratic Peace and Territorial Conflict in the Twentieth Century*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002

Gary Goertz and Paul Diehl. *Territorial Change and International Conflict*. New York: Routledge, 1992.

Paul D. Senese and John A. Vasquez. "A Unified Explanation of Territorial Conflict: Testing the Impact of Sampling Bias, 1919-1992," *International Studies Quarterly*. Vol. 47, No. 2, (June 2003), pp. 275-298.

Stephen A. Kocs. "Territorial Disputes and Interstate War, 1945-1987," *Journal of Politics*, Vol. 57, Issue 1 (February 1995), pp. 159-175

Robert Mandel. "Roots of the Modern Interstate Border Dispute," *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, Vol. 24, No. 3 (1980), p. 427-454

Paul F. Diehl. *A Road Map To War: Territorial Dimensions Of International Conflict*. Nashville : Vanderbilt University Press, 1999

Paul K. Huth. "Territory: Why Are Territorial Disputes between States a Central Cause of International Conflict?," in Vasquez, John, ed. *What Do We Know About War?* Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield, 2000, pp. 85-110

### Territoriality and Homelands

Thongchai Winichakul. *Siam Mapped: A History Of The Geo-Body Of A Nation*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1994.

Robert David Sack. *Human Territoriality: Its Theory and History*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1986.

Guntram H. Herb. "National Identity and Territory," in Guntram H. Herb and David H. Kaplan, eds., *Nested Identities: Nationalism, Territory and Scale*. Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield, pp. 9-30

David B. Knight, "People Together, Yet Apart: Rethinking Territory, Sovereignty and Identities," in George J. Demko and William B. Wood, eds., *Reordering the World: Geopolitical Perspectives on the Twenty-First Century*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. Boulder: Westview Press, 1999, pp. 209-226

Anssi Paasi. "Boundaries As Social Processes: Territoriality In The World Of Flows," *Geopolitics*, Vol. 3, No. 1 (1999), pp. 69-88.

Jean Gottmann. *The Significance of Territory*. Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1973

Peter Sahlins, *Boundaries: the Making of France and Spain in the Pyrenees*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991

### Nationalism

Ernest Gellner. *Nations and Nationalism*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1983

Michael Hechter. *Containing Nationalism*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994

George C. White, *Nationalism and Territory, Constructing Group Identity in Southeastern Europe*. New York: Rowman & Littlefield, 2000.

Benedict Anderson. *Imagined Communities*. London: Verso, 1983.

### Geography

Gerard Chaliand and Jean-Pierre Rageau. *A Strategic Atlas: Comparative Geopolitics of the World's Powers*. New York: Harper & Row, 1992.

[John M. Collins. \*Military Geography for Professionals and the Public\*. Fort McNair: NDU Press, 1988.](#)

Nicholas J. Spykman. *The Geography of the Peace*. New York, Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1944

### Resources

John Gallagher and Ronald Robinson. "The Imperialism of Free Trade," *The Economic History Review*, Vol. 6, No. 1 (1953), pp. 1-15.

V.I. Lenin. *Imperialism, The Highest Stage of Capitalism* (Moscow: Progress Publishers, 1982), Chs. VI-VII.

Michael Ross. "How Does Natural Resource Wealth Influence Civil War? Evidence from 13 Case Studies." *International Organization*

Michael Ross. "What Do We Know About Natural Resources and Civil War?" *Journal of Peace Research*. Vol. 41, No. 3 (March 2004), pp. 337-356

### Revisionism, Expansion and Territorial Conflict

Ian Lustick. *Unsettled States, Disputed Lands: Britain And Ireland, France And Algeria, Israel And The West Bank-Gaza*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1993.

Barry R. Posen. "Nationalism, the Mass Army, and Military Power," *International Security*, Vol. 18, No. 2. (Autumn, 1993), pp. 80-124.

Michael Brown. "The Causes of Internal Conflict: An Overview," in Michael Brown, et. al., eds, *Nationalism and Ethnic Conflict*. Cambridge: MIT Press, 1997, pp. 3-25.

### Boundary Management

Peter Sahlins. "Natural Frontiers Revisited: France's Boundaries since the Seventeenth Century," *The American Historical Review*, Vol. 95, No. 5. (Dec., 1990), pp. 1423-1451.

Kjetil Tronvoll. "Borders of Violence-Boundaries of Identity: Demarcating the Eritrean Nation-state," *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, Vol. 22, No. 6 (November 1999), pp. 1037-1060.

Alan K. Henrikson. "The Power and Politics of Maps," in George J. Demko and William B. Wood, eds., *Reordering the World: Geopolitical Perspectives on the Twenty-First Century*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. Boulder: Westview Press, 1999, pp. 94-116

### Settlement

Arie M. Kacowicz. *Peaceful Territorial Change*, (Columbia, S.C.: University of South Carolina Press, 1994).

Brendan O'Leary, Ian S. Lustick, and Thomas Callaghy, eds. *Right-Sizing The State: The Politics Of Moving Borders*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2001.

Suzanne N. Lalonde. *Determining Boundaries in a Conflicted World: The Role of Uti Possidetis*. McGill: Queen's University Press, 2003.

Geunter Weissberg. "Maps as Evidence in International Boundary Disputes: A Reappraisal." *American Journal of International Law* Vol. 57 (1953), pp. 781-803.

Victor Prescott. "Contribution of the United Nations to Solving Boundary and Territorial Disputes, 1945-1995," *Political Geography*. Vol. 15, Issue 3-4, p. 287, March-April 1996

## The Future of Territorial Conflict

John Herz. "The Rise and Demise of the Territorial State," *World Politics*, Vol. 9, No. 4 (July 1957), pp. 473-493.

Peter Andreas. "Redrawing the Line: Borders and Security in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century." *International Security*, Vol. 28, No. 2 (Fall 2003), pp. 78-111

Steve A. Ratner "Drawing a Better Line: UTI Possidetis and the Borders of New States." *The American Journal of International Law*. Vol. 90, No. 4 (Oct 1996), pp. 590-624

Carl Kaysen. "Is War Obsolete? A Review Essay," *International Security*, Vol. 14, No. 4 (Spring 1990), pp. 42-64.